

JANUARY 17, 1950  
595th BROADCAST

# Town Meeting

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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## the Kremlin's Aim the Conquest of the United States?

Moderator, **GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.**

### *Speakers*

**WALTER H. JUDD**

**FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN**

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### COMING

—January 31, 1950—

**Should President Truman's Civil Rights  
Program Be Adopted?**

—February 7, 1950—

**How Can We Be Successful Parents?**

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# Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



MAY 17, 1950

VOL. 15, No. 38

## The Kremlin's Aim the Conquest of the United States?

### Announcer:

Among the thousands of Town Meeting discussion groups which meet regularly in the homes of friends, in clubs, schools, and churches was the president of a bank who happened to notice that Town Meeting did not have a sponsor on the station to which he and his friends were listening.

He inquired the next morning of the local ABC station manager, and found that his bank could sponsor this program at an astonishingly low cost. Within a matter of days, this bank was sponsoring America's most popular radio forum in its community as a public service. Customers, old and new, began congratulating him on every hand. The bank's employees felt a sense of pride in their association with this great program which has become a national institution.

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If you're hearing this announcement, it means that Town Meeting is now available for sponsorship on this station. Now to preside over our discussion, here is your moderator, the president of the Town Hall, George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (Applause)

### Moderator Denny:

Last evening, neighbors. While the heated controversy in Congress rages over what we should do about Formosa—a strictly military problem—we invite your attention to a question of policy which you and I, as citizens, should and must have an informed opinion on if our democracy is to function.

Why must we, five years after World War II, be faced with largest peacetime budget in our history, due, largely, to preparations for another war?

Why are we now engaged in a so-called "cold war" with former ally? Is this former ally now our enemy? If so, what shall we do about it? If not, what should we do?

Are the men in the Kremlin aiming at the ultimate conquest of this country? Or are they merely using communism as a tool of Russian imperialism with lesser aims?

It is extremely important for us to be able to answer this question if we are to adopt a wise foreign policy with respect to Formosa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the rest of the world.

To counsel with us this evening, we've invited one of the best informed men in Congress, especially on China, where he served as a medical missionary for ten years—Dr. Walter Judd, who is now a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee—and a specialist on Russian-American relations—Dr. Frederick S. Man, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College.

Many of you will remember Dr. Judd's first appearance on the Town Meeting, when he was trying to awaken the American people to our imminent danger of attack by Japan in 1939. He takes a strong affirmative tonight on the question, "Is the Kremlin's Aim the Conquest of the U. S. A.?" Dr. Walter Judd, Republican Congressman of Minnesota. Dr. Judd. (Applause)

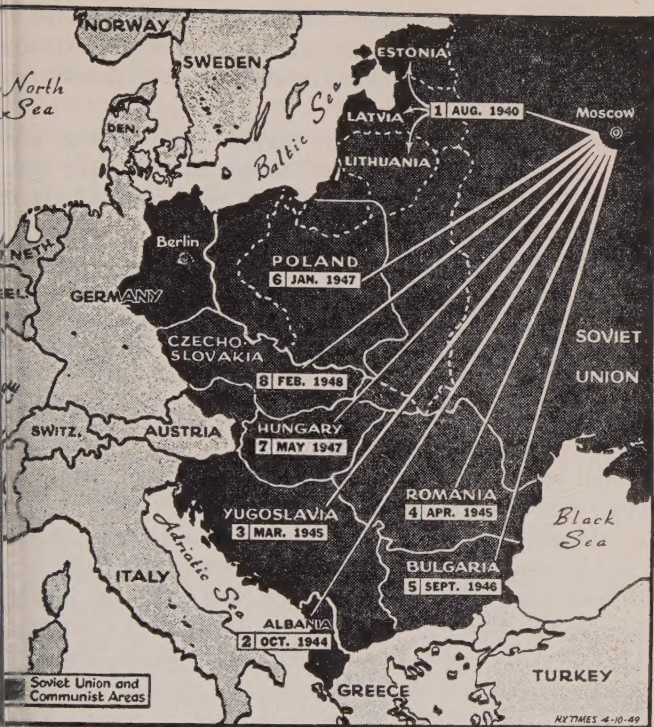
### **Congressman Judd:**

My concern tonight, Mr. Denny, is that we not make again the same tragic mistake that we made ten years ago, for I am convinced by both the declarations of communist leaders and the unmistakable pattern of their actions that the ultimate aim of the masters of the Kremlin is—yes, must be—conquest of the United States.

The methods they use are not those of the past, like Hitler's legions openly marching across a nation's borders. Their more clever and successful tactics seek to weaken a nation until its agents and followers can seize control from within. That, of course, is conquest.

Moreover, the Kremlin is already on its way toward achieving this goal. It has gained control of more than one-half the land and one-third of the people of the world, and the program is steadily rolling in high gear.

It is our failure to recognize the conspiracy for what it is and what it is after that allows it to make such alarming headway.



—N. Y. Times

**EXPANDING SPHERE**—Having surrounded itself with countries to the west, Russia is now pushing its influence eastward across Asia.

What would you do if you were a member of the Politburo, without moral principles, without conscience, without scruples, embarked on a great program of expansion?

Wouldn't you have to make your aim the destruction of the one that stands between you and complete victory—the free government of the United States of America?

How would you go about achieving that end? Surely, the way the Kremlin has.

It would try to soften up and isolate the United States by gaining its friends and shaking their confidence in its Government, cutting off its trade, and forcing us either, as Lenin put it, to send ourselves into bankruptcy to help our allies stay free, or let them be taken over, one by one, by this new type of domination—internal conspiracy—and thus we'd be left standing

That is precisely the pattern the Soviets are following. When after the war, they tried directly to get control of all Germany and then Western Europe, we were intelligent and forceful enough to prevent it.

When they moved against the Middle East, Greece, and the Mediterranean, we were vigilant enough to recognize that a skillful attempt to turn the flank of our road block in Germany and we stopped that move, also.

But our State Department has not been alert enough to recognize communist aggression in China and Asia as merely a wide flanking attack, aimed ultimately at Europe and then at ourselves. The Chinese understood and resisted, but now, abandoned by the Free China is on the ropes.

What reason is there to believe the Kremlin's next steps in Southeast Asia will falter or fail?

Without access to the resources and markets of Asia, how can Europe recover? And where would that leave us?

Yes, the pattern of Soviet expansion in our direction is clear and the pronouncements of their leaders are equally clear. A recent example is the message which Mao Tse-tung, head of the Chinese communist regime, broadcast last fall to Chairman Y. W. Williams Z. Foster and other Communist officials in the United States.

We have been led to believe, by the pro-communist propagandists that communist aggression in China is merely a struggle to overthrow the allegedly feudalistic landlord-warlord government of China, but the communists know better.

Mr. Mao didn't even bother to mention Chiang Kai-shek. Rather, he said, "It is the present imperialistic government of the United States which has met with decisive defeat."

Now, how can conquest of China mean decisive defeat for the United States? Because it produces a drastic shift in the balance of power in the world—for the Soviets and *against* us. For there are four main factors determining a nation's power—territory, resources, manpower, and productive capacity.

If Asia falls under communist control, the Kremlin will have gained vast preponderance in territory, resources, and manpower. The Russians have demonstrated by constructing the atomic bomb that they can gradually overtake us where we now lead in technical skills. But how can we ever overtake them where they will lead—in territory, resources, and manpower?

Time is not on our side. Yet our Government still plays a diplomatic game of striped pants. We don't act; we just react. Unless there is a change of policy promptly, all Asia will be

in the Middle East and Europe will be in mortal peril, and where will our security be?

Actually, all this can still be prevented, and we certainly need not have a shooting war if only we will stir from our slumbers in time. We are in danger only if we fail (1) to understand the nature of the objectives of the enemy we face, and (2) to mobilize quickly and fully all the resources of freedom everywhere. (Applause)

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Dr. Walter Judd.

Now, for a different point of view on this question, we hear another voice familiar to Town Meeting listeners—Dr. Frederick Schuman, author of *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad*, and a 10th edition of *International Politics*. He's the Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College, Dr. Frederick Schuman. (Applause)

### **Schuman:**

Dr. Denny and friends. A decade ago, Dr. Judd warned us all that no peace was possible with fascism. He was right.

Now he warns us that no peace is possible with communism. He may be right, but I hope and believe that he is wrong.

He is quite right in urging that we do all in our power to prevent the spread of communism. He is, I think, quite wrong in implying that this can be done by military means.

Communists hope to spread their faith over the world as Americans hope to spread capitalism and democracy. But efforts at conquest are not equivalent to efforts at conquest. They must be resisted and can be halted only by nonmilitary means.

Secretary Acheson said last Thursday that these problems are not capable of solution through military means, that any such attempt in Asia would be a foolish adventure, and that we must recognize that communism is an instrument of Soviet foreign policy—not the other way around.

Years ago, Winston Churchill called Soviet foreign policy "a riddle in a mystery in an enigma." But he added, correctly, that the key to the puzzle was national interest.

The aim of the Kremlin is the promotion of Russian national interests, using communist movements elsewhere as the means. Our aim ought to be the promotion of American national interests, using democratic movements elsewhere as the means.

Conflicts of creeds cannot be compromised and often lead to wars of extermination. If Dr. Judd's advice had been

followed over the past three years, I very much fear that should be hopelessly engaged in such a Holy War now with b Russia and China.

Conflicts of national interest, on the other hand, can be co promised and will be. And yet, so long as we and the Russi are rivals for power, grimacing at one another through the look glass, we should rationalize our aims by pretending that tl want to conquer us and they will rationalize their aims by p tending that we want to conquer them. Of course, we do not a they do not. This cannot be done outside of Wonderland, and i could be done, the conquerors could never rule the conquered.

Now, we're both practical peoples. Our American aim is conquest, but pressure to make the Russians do what we w them to do. The Kremlin's aim is not conquest, but pressure make us do what the Kremlin wants us to do.

The Russians, who cannot even free Yugoslavia from th enemies, cannot possibly save America from capitalism. And who cannot free even China from our enemies, cannot possi save Russia from communism. But we can both return to sound advice of Franklin D. Roosevelt and do what is poss toward settling our differences and tolerating one another.

Happily, politics is the art of the possible. Where wisdom bliss, 'tis folly to be ignorant.

Happily, again, American capitalism and Soviet socialism not resemble the fascist economics of yesteryear. Neither one quires war and conquest to avoid collapse.

Since Russians and Americans need no war and can win war, we shall eventually make peace. But we shall not make early peace because the Cold War is much too useful either to ended or to be spoiled by making it hot. It enables Russ communists to perpetuate their dictatorship and to win the votion of the masses in the name of defense against capitalist It enables American Democrats—though the Republicans hav heard of this yet—to tax and spend and elect and assure p perity to all, in the name of defense against communist sin.

These are tangible advantages for which substitutes are h to find. Therefore, we and the Russians will continue, I beli to coöperate in keeping the cold war going nicely. This is c gerous but not fatal.

In the end, both we and they will find better ways to ope our respective systems, and then we shall together make pea not because we want to, but because we must. (Applause)

## **erator Denny:**

Thank you, Dr. Schuman. Well, friends, there you have two different points of view completely in conflict with each other, and we are going to have the questions in a minute. Now, while you get ready for our question period, here is a message for our radio Hall listeners.

## **Puncher:**

You are, of course, interested in the defense and welfare of your country. For nearly 15 years, America's Town Meeting has been organized by the influential leaders in all groups in our society as one of the great forces contributing to the defense and welfare of our way of life, through the advancement of understanding on the part of the American people of the great issues before our country and the world.

Many farsighted businessmen have found it good business to sponsor Town Meeting locally, for by so doing they gain the gratitude and respect of the entire community.

A variety of Town Meeting subjects guarantees the widest possible audience. Our American system of free radio is supported entirely by advertising. If you are an advertiser, you, too, find it good business to sponsor Town Meeting in your community, and at the same time you'll enjoy the satisfaction of helping the defense and welfare of your country.

Now our Town Meeting audience is ready with their questions, and during our question period we return you to Mr. Denny.

**Mr. Denny:** Before we take the questions from the audience, I have a comment from each speaker, followed by questions that you want to ask each other questions. Congressman Judd?

**Congressman Judd:** Well, Mr. Denny, I first want to say to Dr. Schuman that it isn't because the Republicans haven't discovered "tax and spend and elect" that they haven't adopted it. It's because we aren't interested in destroying our country. I'm glad my party hasn't yet sunk so low that it will stoop to those tactics in order to win elections. I hope we never will. (Pause)

Now the comment I want to make on what Mr. Schuman said—it's hard to reduce it to one comment. He says that Russia and the United States are both rivals for power, grimacing at one another, and so forth, as if the United States and Russia were on equal par.

Unable to accept that. What did we try to do at the end of the war except follow the advice of Mr. Roosevelt to try to get together? We had incomparably the greatest military su-

periority in the world. We could have imposed our will on anybody in the world. And what did we do? We threw our superiority out the window, trying to get good relations.

We offered them the atomic bomb on the same terms as we have it ourselves. We looked in the other direction while they destroyed the independence of a half dozen countries in Eastern Europe. We even repudiated the principles of the Atlantic Charter to try to make clear to them that we wouldn't interfere with what they were doing in violation of the principles of that Charter.

Did our relations get better? No, they steadily got worse.

Therefore, I must ask Dr. Schuman, does he really believe that our objectives in the world are not peace and freedom, but the same objectives that a glance at the map shows the objectives of the Soviet Union to be? (Applause)

**Dr. Schuman:** I believe, Congressman Judd and friends, that the objectives of almost all Americans, including Dr. Judd and the present Administration, are peace and freedom in the world. But we have found it advantageous for a variety of reasons, and some of us in our best judgment have believed sincerely in this position we have come to, to say that peace and freedom in the world are threatened exclusively by communist sin and Russian wickedness. This I believe to be false.

It happens to be true that the communist rulers of Russia have persuaded themselves and most of their people that peace and freedom in the world are threatened exclusively by capitalist and American wickedness. I believe this also to be false.

As long as we keep calling names at one another and exchanging accusations, we shall get nowhere at all except on the road to World War III. (Applause)

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you. Congressman Judd, do you want to comment?

**Congressman Judd:** Well, in the first place, I don't agree with the premises. I don't know anybody that says that the Russians are exclusively responsible for the difficulties we're in. Certainly I spend a lot of my time trying to confess the sins of my own country. There is more profit in that rather than in confessing the sins of other countries.

But the fact remains that here are the deeds. How can anybody be taken in by charges when a look at the map shows the facts? (Applause) That to me is the decisive and unanswerable answer to the belief that we're just buddies and can get along all right if we'll always be patient and sacrifice our principles and other people's territories. (Applause)

**Mr. Denny:** Thank you, Congressman Judd.

# QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

*Mr. Denny:* Now we'll start the questions from the gentleman on the aisle.

*Mr. Can:* My question is addressed to Professor Schuman. If Russia contemplates conquest of the world, how is it that Finland, enemy nation during the war, which was conquered by Russia in five years, was not incorporated in the Soviet Union though self-preservation made this move obvious?

*Mr. Schuman:* My answer to that question is that the conquest of Finland, or the imposition of Soviet rule on Finland from Moscow, would jeopardize the neutrality of Sweden, and the shrewd, and realistic members of the Politburo think it more expedient not to jeopardize the neutrality of Sweden. Therefore, they have dealt with Finland in a fashion otherwise than they have dealt with the other satellites.

I may just add a word, if you will please look at the map—the map—you will discover there are American bases all around the perimeter of the Soviet Union within easy bombing range of the major Soviet cities. There aren't any Russian bases yet around our perimeter. (Applause)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Question from the lady in the balcony.

*Miss My:* I address my question to Dr. Judd. Dr. Judd, what makes you think that the Communists could make any headway in this country today, when they haven't been able to elect a single man to a responsible elective position?

*Congressman Judd:* Well, of course, that gets right to the heart of the contention. They don't try to get control by normal elections. They haven't got control of a single country in the world by conquering the people or by free election. They get control by conquering, dividing the people, by exploiting every injustice, and by exploiting every discrimination—and no country is without sins in respect—until they can break and divide the people, conquer them, and then take over in the weakness and economic breakdown, the hunger and the bread lines, and even in the depression that may happen if there's a drastic reduction in the standard of living.

Now, to go back further, the Communists themselves have incited their people, officially, to try to get into legislative bodies and elections, not to pass legislation, but to have the forum and to use it to beguile people.

I can take a minute more, Mr. Denny, I should like to say that the Communists say that for every Communist they have, they have ten people who carry their papers for them.

## THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**WALTER H. JUDD**—Walter Judd, Republican Congressman from Minnesota, was a medical missionary and hospital superintendent in China for a number of years (1925-31 and 1934-38), under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was born in Rising Sun, Nebraska, and received his B.A. and M.D. degrees from the University of Nebraska. In 1918, he enlisted in the United States Army and served in the Field Artillery.

In 1923, he received his medical degree and not long after went to China. During a furlough in the United States, he had a fellowship in surgery at the Mayo Foundation in Rochester, Minnesota (1932-34). Dr. Judd spent 1939 and 1940 speaking throughout the United States in an attempt to arouse Americans to the menace of Japan's military expansion and to get an embargo established on the sale and shipment of war materials to Japan. At the time of his election to Congress, Dr. Judd was conducting a private medical practice in Minneapolis. He is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

**FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN**—Dr. Schuman was born in Chicago in 1904. In 1924, he was granted a Ph.B. degree from the University of Chicago and in 1927, a Ph.D. degree from the same university. For nine years, he served as instructor and assistant professor of political science at his alma mater. Since 1936, he has been professor of political science at Williams College, and Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government since July 1, 1938. During the war he was a political analyst in the foreign broadcast intelligence service of the Federal Communications Commission. As a lecturer, author, and contributor to magazines, Dr. Schuman is an authority on European affairs. His most recent books include *The Nazi Dictatorship, Germany Since 1918, Europe on the Eve, Night Over Europe*, and *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad*.

We have some in Congress. There's one member in Congress who has never been known, to the best of my knowledge, to depart a hairsbreadth from the Soviet line. One day last April, he said to me, "Judd, I respect you. You've made a good fight for China but you have lost. We've got China, and don't make any mistake about it, we're going to get India, too."

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Next question. The gentleman in the aisle.

*Man:* My question is addressed to Dr. Schuman. Do you feel that the Russian leaders are banking very heavily on a major depression in the United States as a means of furthering national interest?

*Dr. Schuman:* I do not feel that the members of the Politburo any longer are banking heavily on a major depression in the United States, as is shown by the fact that Soviet economic

en Varga, who some years ago said this wouldn't happen, now been restored to their good graces. I believe further that they are quite aware that their millennial vision of communizing America is complete nonsense and this will never happen. But I fear that should a major depression come in the United States, the result would be an American fascism and not an American communism, and I think it would. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The other aisle.

Mr. Schuman: Congressman Judd, would you be kind enough to tell me it is possible for the Soviet Union and the United States to live peacefully in the same world?

Congressman Judd: Yes, I think it's possible to live peacefully in the same world. I don't think that war will come unless we see the side of the free peoples to become so weak or the Soviet bloc to become so strong that they think they can win. They don't go to war on a basis of pique or insult. They go to war if they think they can win. Therefore, the whole contention of my position is that we must keep the free peoples of the world alert and prevent their whittling away China, North Korea, North China, Iran, or whatever it may be, and thereby tip the balance in their favor.

We can get along together if we're strong enough so that they can't possibly start a war with the hope of winning, because they can't go to start a war. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman right here in the blue

Mr. Schuman: Dr. Schuman, please. Is the current Kremlin policy to be as Communist or as Russian in its expression today, or as

Dr. Schuman: I should say very definitely as both. But, in terms of the diplomatic record of the Soviet Union, it can be shown that whenever the promotion of international communism has conflicted with the national interests of Russia as the Kremlin men have understood them, they have promoted international communism. Whenever the promotion of international communism has indeed conflicted with Russian national interests as they have understood them, they have forgotten all about the promotion of international communism, as in the Stalin-Hitler pact, as in the German-Soviet neutrality pact, and on a great variety of other occasions. I think if we deal with these problems, as we will in the long run, in terms of national interest, we can arrive at some *modus vivendi*.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The young man in the balcony.



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*Man:* Congressman Judd. Could non-Americans regard our military measures as an instrument of economic imperialism?

*Mr. Denny:* Could non-Americans interpret our armaments as a method of imperialism?

*Congressman Judd:* Did you say our armaments or economic measures? Do you mean could the people of other countries, seeing our military measures, consider them an evidence of American imperialistic or militaristic design?

Well, sir, I don't quite see how military preparations can be a result of economic imperialism. What I want to say is that it's clearly on the record that our military armaments are the result of Soviet action, not the cause of them. It's only after years of terrible disillusionment that, belatedly, we were forced to begin rebuilding a good deal of our scrap armaments. Now in parts of the world they say that our efforts at Point Four or our Marshall Plan, are an attempt to impose capitalism on those people. They all asked for it. We didn't go over and force it on them. They can interrupt it at any time.

The record of a year and a half of operation makes clear that we have not tried to coerce people. We've gone in sympathetically, understandingly, and tried to help them to get on their feet.

A major objection to the Administration's policy is not what is done in Europe. It is because we haven't followed that same helpful, understanding, constructive policy in Asia, because we are convinced that if we lose either, it will threaten to engulf the

(Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Next person, there.

Mr. Dr. Schuman. Would development of still greater weapons and mass destruction, such as the hydrogen bomb, serve as a greater deterrent or stimulant to Soviet expansion policies?

Dr. Schuman: I don't see how any group of men in their right mind—and I assume that the men in the Kremlin are still in their minds, however scoundrelly they may be otherwise—could see that further expansion would be a defense against the atomic bomb or the new hydrogen bomb.

Unable to perceive how any one can suppose that our now bankrupt policy of containment, all around the perimeter of the Soviet Union, can protect us from an atomic war. World War II will not be won by anybody. It will not be won by anybody, and the more of us who realize that and the more the Russians realize that, the sooner we should arrive at a settlement. Therefore, we must prevent World War III by making it impossible for the Soviets to get such strength—by capturing other nations so that they can force us into a war, which will mean the destruction of everybody. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Congressman Judd, and thank you, Dr. Schuman. Now in just a moment I'll tell you about our subject speakers for next week.

Mr. Truncer: Mr. Denny will tell you in just a moment about next week's Town Meeting. But first I want to tell you how you can keep up of tonight's discussion, and something about the Town Meeting two weeks hence.

For your convenience, each Town Meeting is printed in a handy pocket-sized bulletin which may be secured by addressing envelope to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, enclosing 10 cents in coin—not stamps—to cover the cost of printing and mailing. Tell us, of course, the subject or date of the program you wish.

If you would like a sample subscription for any 12 consecutive issues, enclose \$1, or for the entire year, \$4.50. Once again, the address is Town Hall, New York 18, New York.

Two weeks from tonight, January 31, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, and Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana, will discuss the very controversial question, "Should President Truman's Civil Rights Program be Adopted?" Make your plans now to listen to this lively discussion.

Now to tell you about next week's program, here is Mr. *Denny*. Since tonight's debate involves a central issue of our foreign policy, we know that the framers of this policy welcome your opinions on this question. Do you think the policy of the men in the Kremlin is the conquest of this country? If so, do, send in your opinions. They'll be carefully tabulated and sent to the State Department and members of the House and Senate Foreign Relations committees.

Send your opinions to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and enclose 10 cents if you want a copy of tonight's discussion.

Next week, three distinguished Americans will attempt to answer the perplexing question, "What Is the Difference Between Socialism and Social Welfare?" Our speakers will be *Herrn* Steinkraus, president of the Bridgeport Brass Company and U. S. Chamber of Commerce; Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, Democrat of California; and Socialist leader, Norman Thomas.

So plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the crier's bell.